

Bianca Horreman. 2015. A Bibliographic Note and Table on Mid-19<sup>th</sup> to Mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century Western Travelogues and Research Reports on Gansu and Qinghai in Gerald Roche, Keith Dede, Fernanda Pirie, and Benedict Copps (eds) *Asian Highlands Perspectives 37 Centering the Local, A Festschrift for Dr. Charles Kevin Stuart on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, 36-38.

## A BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE AND TABLE ON MID-19TH TO MID-20TH CENTURY WESTERN TRAVELOGUES AND RESEARCH REPORTS ON GANSU AND QINGHAI

Bianca Horlemann (Humboldt University)

Starting from the late nineteenth century, northwest China, Eastern Turkestan (modern Xinjiang), and eastern Tibet became increasingly attractive destinations for foreign travelers and explorers. There was a veritable 'run' on the region, which was deemed one of the last blank spots on world maps. In addition, northwest China, Tibet, and Eastern Turkestan received special attention because of competition between the British and Russian empires as part of what is known as the Great Game in Central Asia. This caused other European countries such as France, Belgium, and Germany to fear that they would miss out on new geographic and scientific discoveries. Apart from geo-political, economic, and archeological incentives, Tibetan Buddhism also attracted considerable interest, although mostly on a 'touristic', rather than an academic, level.

Gansu (which formerly also included parts of modern Qinghai<sup>1</sup> and Ningxia provinces) was considered to be the gate to both Eastern Turkestan and the 'Closed Land of Tibet'. It was therefore frequently traversed by travelers coming either from Russia and Mongolia or from Beijing, although sometimes also from India and Sichuan.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, from the beginning of the twentieth century, Gansu played a growing role as wool producer in the international wool trade and was also suspected of containing a

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<sup>1</sup> In pre-1930 travelogues, the area of modern Qinghai Province is often referred to as Kokonor, deriving from the Mongol designation for the landmark lake, Kokonor, Tsongö (mtsho sngon) in Tibetan and Qinghaihu in Chinese.

<sup>2</sup> Since Tibet was usually closed for foreigners travelling from India, Western explorers often attempted to reach Lhasa from Qinghai and Gansu. However, they usually failed because Chinese and Tibetan authorities refused to issue the necessary travel permits. Such travelers therefore often changed their plans and started to explore the Sino-Tibetan borderlands instead.

wealth of natural resources, and thus attracted foreign (and Chinese) wool trading companies and prospecting teams.

As a literary genre, travel writing is defined as bringing news of the wider world and as disseminating information about strange lands and unfamiliar peoples.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, travelogues can present a welcome addition to our sources for the local history of Amdo and northwest China, especially when written by explorers who adhere to the more scientific forms of travel writing, emphasizing the presentation of quantitative data. In some cases, however, the travelogues say more about their authors – their prejudices and attitudes – than the territory crossed and the peoples encountered. Some accounts are purely anecdotal while others provide valuable socio-economic, political, ethnographic, and geographic information. Most travelogues, however, offer a mix, and are usually not free of mistakes and misunderstandings, such as wrong dates, misspelled names, and so on; some of these are obvious, others not. Another aspect of travel writing is the not-so-rare mingling of 'fact' and 'fiction', especially in publications meant for a wider audience, such as popular 'adventure books' (Thompson 2011:28).

Some travelers only spent a few days in Gansu and Qinghai and quickly passed through the area, while several of the more serious explorers traveled for months or even years, and repeatedly revisited the region, for example, Sven Hedin and the Russian explorers Przheval'skij and Kozlov. While some expeditions – such as the Russians – were usually well-equipped with funds and staff, and even with military escorts for protection, several explorers traveled more or less alone, sometimes even running out of funds. Scientific interests covered geology, topography, botany, ethnology, linguistics, and several other academic disciplines. Among the travelers, we find professional and amateur explorers as well as journalists, diplomats, officials, military officers, and several 'adventurers'. The travelogues therefore differ considerably in format (book, diary, articles published in a journal or newspaper), literary style (scientific report, adventure book), and last but not least in veracity and

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<sup>3</sup> Travel writing has generated interest in a number of disciplines, foremost in (post)colonial and literary studies, but also in geography, ethnography, and sociology. For a general introduction see Thompson (2011).

trustworthiness. Some travelogues are well known and frequently consulted, like those of Joseph Rock, Sven Hedin, WW Rockhill, and NM Przheval'skij. Others, however, are rarely mentioned as sources, although they certainly deserve more academic attention as, for example, the accounts of Carl Mannerheim, Albert Tafel, Reginald Farrer, Karl Josef Futterer, and Charles Eudes Bonin. Non-English travelogues like those of the Russian and German explorers are often only available in their original languages or in abridged translations.<sup>4</sup>

Among the explorers and travelers was a considerable number of Christian missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant. These, however, are not included in the following table, with only few exceptions.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the table does not list the many accounts of Chinese explorers and travelers of the early twentieth century.<sup>6</sup>

This paper is a work in progress and does not claim comprehensiveness. It is meant to provide the reader with quick orientation of who traveled where and when and published what kind of account.

The following table is arranged chronologically according to travel dates. Travel routes are only roughly indicated. Information on published travel accounts is provided if available. An index of place names and names of travelers closes this article.

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<sup>4</sup> A recurrent problem in identifying relevant translations from Russian into European languages is posed by the many different romanization systems for Russian. For example, transcriptions of Николай Михайлович Пржевальский include Nikolaj Mikhajlovich Przheval'skij, Nikolay Mikhaylovich Przhevalsky or Prjevalsky, Nicholas Michailovitch Prejevalsky and Nikolai Michailowitsch Prschewalski. There exists a large quantity of Russian secondary literature on the Russian expeditions and explorers. For more information see, for example, the English language website of the Russian Academy of Science at [www.orientalstudies.ru](http://www.orientalstudies.ru) (accessed 8 March 2015) and Andreyev (2013).

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of missionary writings on Gansu and Qinghai see Horlemann (2013). For a recent Chinese publication on western travelers and missionaries in Amdo see Tuo Chaoqun (2012).

<sup>6</sup> For a general overview of existing Chinese travelogues see the series *Zhongguo xibei wenxian congshu* 中国西北文献丛书, 203 volumes, published by the Guji shudian yingxiang chubanshe 古籍书店影像出版社 [Collection of Documents on China's Northwest] in Lanzhou and the *Xibei xingji congcai* 西北行记丛萃 [Anthology of Travel Accounts about (China's) Northwest] published by the Gansu renmin chubanshe 甘肃人民出版社.

# Mid-19<sup>th</sup> to mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century Travelogues on Gansu and Qinghai

	Travel Dates <sup>7</sup>	Traveler(s)	Destination/Route	Travel Account(s) <sup>8</sup>	Supplementary Information
1	1844-6; early 1845- Oct. 1845	Evariste-Régis Huc and Joseph Gabet, French Catholic missionaries (Lazarists)	From Mongolia via Amdo to Lhasa; passed through Zhuanglang, Datong, Xining, stayed in Dan'gaer, Kumbum	Ibid. Reprint. 1987. <i>Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, 1844-1846.</i> New York: Dover Publ.	Traveled disguised as Mongols; note the critical introduction to the travelogue by Paul Pelliot.
2	1866	(Abbé) Armand David, French Catholic missionary (Lazarist), zoologist and botanist	Inner Mongolia and Ningxia	Helen M Fox. 1949. <i>Abbé David's Diary: Being an Account of the French Naturalist's Journeys and Observations in China in the Years 1866 to 1869.</i> Cambridge: Harvard University Press.	Stationed in China 1862-74; also traveled in Sichuan 1868-70 and Shanxi and Shaanxi 1872-74.

<sup>7</sup> The first set of travel dates refers to the time spent on the complete journey, the second to the time spent in Gansu and Qinghai.

<sup>8</sup> If available, reference to an English edition is provided.

3	1870-3	Nikolaj Mikhajlovich Przheval'skij (Николай Михайлович Пржевальский)	Gansu, Kokonor area, and Upper Yangtze	<p>Ibid. 1875/76. <i>Mongolija i strana Tangutov [Mongolia and the Land of the Tanguts]</i>. St. Petersburg: Izd. Imp. Russkago geograficheskago obshchestva.</p> <p>Nicholas Michailovitch Prejevalsky. 1876. <i>Mongolia, the Tangut Country, and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet</i>. 2 vols. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.</p> <p>NM Prschewalski. 1877. <i>Reisen in der</i></p>	1 <sup>st</sup> Central Asia expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society (of four; 2 <sup>nd</sup> expedition to Eastern Turkestan 1876-77).
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			<p><i>Mongolei, im Gebiet der Tanguten und den Wüsten Nordtibets in den Jahren 1870 bis 1873 [Travels in Mongolia, in the Tangut Country and in the Deserts of Northern Tibet in the Years 1870 to 1873].</i> Jena: Hermann Costenoble.</p> <p>Nikolai Michailowitsch Prschewalski. Reprint. 2004. <i>Auf Schleichwegen nach Tibet, 1870-1873 [On Secret Routes to Tibet, 1870-1873].</i> Leningen: Erdmann.</p>	
4	1877-80; 1879	Earl Béla Széchenyi, Hungarian explorer, Accompanied by	From Xian to Lanzhou, Liangzhou, Suzhou,	Privately funded tour through India, Japan, and China.

	Gustav Kreitner, Austrian officer and geographer	Xining to Chengdu and Kham <sup>9</sup>	<p>Alfred Hölzer.</p> <p>Graf Béla Széchenyi. 1893. <i>Die wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Béla Széchenyi in Ostasien 1877-1880. Nach dem im Jahre 1890 erschienenen ungarischen Original [Scientific Results of the Journey of Earl Béla Széchenyi in East Asia 1877-1880. Based on the Hungarian Original of 1890]</i>. 3 vols. Wien: Ed. Hölzer.</p>	
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<sup>9</sup> Travelogues, which deal exclusively with the area of modern Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces, are not included in the table.

5	1879-80	Nikolaj Mikhajlovich Przheval'skij (Николай Михайлович Пржевальский)	From Eastern Turkestan to Tsaidam and further south to Nagchu; Upper Yellow River, Kokonor area, Xining, Guide, Nanshan	Ibid. Reprint. 1948. <i>Iz Zajsana cherez Khami v Tibet i na verkhovi'ya zhyoltoj reki [From Zajsana through Hami to Tibet and the Upper Yellow River]</i> . Moscow: Gos. izd-vo geograf. literatury.  N von Prschewalski (sic). 1884. <i>Reisen in Tibet und am oberen Lauf des Gelben Flusses in den Jahren 1879 bis 1880 [Travels in Tibet and along the Upper Yellow River from 1879 to 1880]</i> . Jena: Hermann Costenoble.	3 <sup>rd</sup> expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society.
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6	1883-5	Nikolaj Mikhajlovich Przheval'skij (Николай Михайлович Пржевальский)	Eastern Turkestan and northern Tibet; to Yellow River sources	Ibid. 1888. <i>Ot Kiyakhty na istoki zhyoltoj reki [From Kiyakhta to the Sources of the Yellow River]</i> . St. Petersburg: VS Balashova.  NM Prshewalski. 1954. <i>In das Land der wilden Kamele [To the Land of the Wild Camels]</i> . Leipzig: Brockhaus.	4 <sup>th</sup> expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society; accompanied by VI Roborovskij and PK Kozlov.
7	1884-7; 1885	Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin (Григорий Николаевич Потанин), Russian explorer and natural historian, accompanied by AI Scassi (А. И. Скасси), Russian topographer	From Beijing through Mongolia to Amdo; Lanzhou, Xining, Guide, Baoan, Xunhua, Minzhou, Labrang, Kumbum, Choni, Songpan	Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshchestva (ed.). 1893. <i>Tangutsko- Tibetskaya okraina Kitaya i tsentral'naya Mongoliya: Puteshestvie GN Potanina 1884-1886 [The Tangut-Tibetan</i>	Expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society. For articles in Russian journals, see <a href="http://oblastnichestvo.lib.tomsk.ru/files2/71.pdf">http://oblastnichestvo.lib.tomsk.ru/files2/71.pdf</a> His letters have been re- printed in <i>Pis'ma GN</i>

		and Potanin's wife Aleksandra Viktorovna Potanina (Александра Викторовна Потанина), Russian ethnographer		<p><i>Borderlands of China and Central Mongolia. The Journey of GN Potanin 1884-1886</i>]. 2 vols. Saint Petersburg: Tip. AS Suvorina.</p> <p>Anonymous. 1887.</p> <p>Potanin's Journey in North-Western China and Eastern Tibet.</p> <p><i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography</i> 9(4):233-235.</p>	<p><i>Potanina</i>. 5 vols. (1977-). Irkutsk: Izdat. Irkut. Univ.</p>
8	1889-90	M V Pevtsov (МВ Певцов), Russian officer and explorer	From Tarim Basin to Altyn-tagh and northern Tibet	<p>Ibid. Reprint. 1951.</p> <p><i>Puteshestviya po Kitayu i Mongolii [Journey to China and Mongolia]</i>. Moscow.</p>	<p>Expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society; Pevtsov took over after Przheval'skij passed away in 1888; accompanied by VI Roborovskij and PK Kozlov</p>

9	1888-9	William W Rockhill, Orientalist and staff member of the American Embassy in Beijing	Lanzhou, Xining, Kumbum, Dan'gaer, Tsaidam	Ibid. 1891. <i>The Land of the Lamas</i> . London: Longmans, Green and Co.	1 <sup>st</sup> expedition
10	1891-2	William W Rockhill, Orientalist and staff member of the American Embassy in Beijing	From Alashan to Xincheng, Lanzhou, Xining, Kumbum, Xunhua area, Guide via Tsaidam Basin to northern Tibet and Kham	Ibid. 1894. <i>Diary of a Journey Through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892</i> . Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.	2 <sup>nd</sup> expedition See also <i>ibid</i> . Reprint. 1977. <i>Notes on Tibet</i> . New Delhi: Asian Publication Services.
11	1891-3; 1891-2	Annie Royle Taylor, British missionary	From Taozhou in southern Gansu through Kham towards Lhasa	Ibid. 1895. <i>Pioneering in Tibet</i> . London: Morgan and Scott.  William Carey. 1902. <i>Travel and Adventure in Tibet</i> . London: Hodder and Stoughton.	Taylor spent almost one year in the Taozhou area to prepare for a trip to Lhasa. Unfortunately, the accounts contain little about Taozhou.

12	1893-4	JL Dutreuil de Rhins and Fernand Grenard, French orientalist	From Cherchen/ Eastern Turkestan to northern Tibet and Amdo	Fernand Grenard. 1898. <i>Mission Scientifique dans la Haute Asie, 1890- 1895. Deuxième partie: Le Turkestan et le Tibet</i> . Paris: Ernest Leroux.  Ibid. 1904. <i>Tibet, the Country and its Inhabitants</i> . London: Hutchinson.  Ibid. 1929. Le Tibet, <i>Géographie universelle</i> , vol. VIII, Paris: Armand Colin.	Dutreuil de Rhins killed during the expedition in July 1894.
13	1893-4	George R Littledale, and wife Teresa, British explorers	Through Eastern Turkestan, Tsaidam and Kokonor to Xining and	Ibid. 1894. A Journey across Central Asia. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 3(6):445-472.	Privately funded journey. Big game hunter and collector for the Natural History Museum in London.

			Lanzhou; traveled down the Yellow River on a raft to Ningxia		
14	1893-4	Grigorij Nikolaevich Potanin (Григорий Николаевич Потанин), Russian explorer and ethnographer, accompanied by his wife Aleksandra Viktorovna Potanina (Александра Викторовна Потанина), Russian ethnographer	Amdo? and Kham	<p>Ibid. 1898.</p> <p><i>Puteshestviya GN Potanina po Kitayu, Tibetu i Mongolii</i> [G.N. Potanin's <i>Journey to China, Tibet and Mongolia</i>]. Saint Petersburg: Izd. AF Devriena.</p> <p>V.A. Obrutchev. 1953.</p> <p><i>Puteshestviya Potanina [Potanin's Journeys]</i>. Moscow: Molodaya gvardiya.</p> <p>Aleksandra V Potanina. 1895. <i>Is'</i></p>	<p>Expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society; AV Potanina fell ill during the expedition and passed away in 1893. Her book is a collection of essays on different topics, e.g. Tibet, Mongolia, Kumbum, Wutaishan, Chinese Theater.</p>

				<p><i>puteshestvii po voctochnoj Sibiri, Mongolii, Tibetu i Kitayu [Journey to Eastern Siberia, Mongolia, Tibet and China]. Moscow: n.p.</i></p>	
15	<p>Aug. 1893- Dec. 95</p>	<p>Vsevolod Ivanovich Roborovskij (Всеволод Иванович Роборовский) and Pyotr Kuz'mich Kozlov (Пётр Кузьмич Козлов), Russian officers and explorers</p>	<p>From Eastern Turkestan to Nanshan and Upper Yellow River</p>	<p>PK Kozlov. 1897. <i>Predvaritel'nyj otchyot o trechletnem puteshestvii po Tsentral'noj Azii [Preliminary report on the three years trip (of VI Roborovskij and PK Kozlov) to Central Asia]</i>, Saint Petersburg: Suvorin.</p> <p>Anonymous. 1896. The Central Asia Expedition of Captain</p>	<p>Expedition undertaken for the Imperial Russian Geographic Society; Kozlov's 3<sup>rd</sup> expedition. See also Kozlov's letters printed in the Saint Petersburg military paper <i>Russkij Invalid</i> and later in <i>Izvestiya</i>.</p>

				Roborovsky and Lieut. Kozloff. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 8(2):161-173.	
16	1894-5	Vladimir A Obrutchev (Владимир А Обручев), Russian explorer and geologist	From Inner Mongolia to Gansu; Lanzhou, Liangzhou, Suzhou, Nanshan and Tsaidam area	<p>Ibid. 1940. <i>Ot Kyakhty do Kul'dzhi: Puteshestvie v Tsentral'nyu Aziyu i Kitaj [From Kyachta to Kuldja: Journey to Central Asia and China]</i>. Moscow: n.p.</p> <p>Wladimir A Obrutschew. 1896. <i>Aus China. Reiseerlebnisse, Natur- und Völkerbilder [From China. Travel adventures and impressions of nature</i></p>	Originally part of Potanin's expedition.

				<i>and peoples</i> ]. Leipzig: von Duncker and Humblot.	
17	1894-7	Sven Hedin, Swedish explorer	Eastern Turkestan, northern Tibet	Ibid. 1898. <i>Through Asia</i> . Vol. 2. London: Methuen and Co.	1 <sup>st</sup> expedition (of four); 3 <sup>rd</sup> expedition (1905-1908) to Eastern Turkestan and Western Tibet
18	1895-6	Charles Eudes Bonin, French explorer and paleogeographer	From Yunnan through Sichuan, Gansu and Mongolia to Beijing	Ibid. 1898. Note sur les résultats géographiques de la mission accomplie au Tibet et au Mongolie en 1895-1896. <i>Bulletin de la Société de Géographie</i> XIX:389-403.	
19	1896	Montagu Sinclair Wellby, and Lieut. Malcolm, British officers	From India through northern Tibet and Amdo to Beijing	MS Wellby. Reprint. 1996. <i>Through Unknown Tibet</i> . New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.	



20	1898-9	Julius Holderer, German explorer, and Karl Josef X Futterer, German geologist	Xining, Dan'gaer, Taozhou, Choni, Guide etc.	<p>Karl JX Futterer. 1909. <i>Durch Asien. Band II. Geologische Charakterbilder. Zweiter Teil [Through Asia. Vol. II. Geological Impressions. 2<sup>nd</sup> Part].</i> Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, vol. 2 of 4.</p> <p>Ibid. 1903. <i>Geographische Skizze von Nordost-Tibet. Begleitworte [Geographical Sketches of Northeastern Tibet. Explanations].</i> Gotha: Justus Perthes.</p>	Expedition funded by Holderer; scientific research by Futterer
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21	Dec. 1899- May 1900	Arthur Wittamer, Belgian officer	Along Gansu Corridor and from Lanzhou to southern Gansu; by raft from Lanzhou to Ningxia	André Lederer. 1984. <i>La mission du Commandant A. Wittamer en Chine (1898-1901)</i> . Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Memoires in-8°, Nouvelle Série, XLVIII/3, Bruxelles.	Explorations/ prospecting for Belgian king, Leopold II.
22	1899- 1900	Charles Eudes Bonin, French explorer and paleographer	From Beijing through Mongolia, Gansu, the Kokonor region and Eastern Turkestan	Ibid. 1901. Voyage de Pékin au Turkestan russe par la Mongolie, le Koukou-Nor, le Lob- Nor et la Dzoungarie. <i>La Géographie</i> , 115- 122, 169-180.  Ibid. 1910. Les Mahométans du Kansou et leur dernière révolte. <i>Revue</i>	See also ibid. 1911. <i>Le Royaume des neiges. États himalayens</i> . Paris: Colin.

				<p><i>du monde musulman</i>, vol. X, reprint. 1974, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus.</p>	
23	July 1899-1901	Pyotr Kuz'mich Kozlov (Пётр Кузьмич Козлов), Russian officer and explorer	From Tsaidam via Yellow River source to Jekundo and Derge	<p>PK Kozloff. 1902. The Russian Tibet Expedition, 1899-1901. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 19(5):576-598.</p> <p>Ibid. 1908. Through Eastern Tibet and Kam. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 31(4-6):402-415, 522-534, 649-661.</p>	<p>4<sup>th</sup> expedition, but 1<sup>st</sup> expedition led by Kozlov himself; funded by the Russian Geographical Society and the czar.</p>
24	1899-1902	Sven Hedin, Swedish explorer	From Eastern Turkestan through northern Tibet to Ladakh	<p>Ibid. 1903. <i>Central Asia and Tibet</i>. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett.</p>	<p>2<sup>nd</sup> expedition</p>

25	1900	Gaspard E Fivé, Belgian officer	Gansu: from Anxi to Lanzhou	Reports in Belgian archives?	Explorations/ prospecting for the Belgian king, Leopold II; for background and references see Koen de Ridder. 2000. Congo in Gansu (1898-1906). Missionary versus Explorer/Exploiter in Koen de Ridder (ed.) <i>Footsteps in Deserted Valleys. Missionary Cases, Strategies and Practice in Qing China</i> . Leuven: Leuven University Press, 111-160.
26	1900-2; 1900	Gomboshab Tsebekovich Tsybikov (Гомбожаб цэбекович Цыбиков), Russian Buryat Buddhist monk	From Amdo to Lhasa; stayed in Labrang and Kumbum	G Tsybikoff. 1904. Journey to Lhasa. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 13(1):92-97.  Gonbojab Tsebekovitch	He is better known for his reports and photographs of central Tibet.

				Tsybikov. Reprint. 1992. <i>Un pelerin bouddhiste dans les sanctuaires du Tibet</i> . Paris: Peuples du Monde.	
27	1903	Lieutenant W Campell, Scottish officer in India	from Beijing to India, passed through Gansu Corridor	?	Attached to Tibet Mission
28	1903-5	Wilhelm Filchner, German geologist, accompanied by his wife and Albert Tafel, German geologist and medical doctor	Xining, Kokonor and Upper Yellow River area, Kumbum Monastery	Ibid. 1906. <i>Das Kloster Kumbum in Tibet. Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte [The Kumbum Monastery in Tibet. A Contribution to its History]</i> . Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler and Sohn.  Ibid. 1911. <i>Das Rätsel</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> expedition

				<p><i>des Matschu. Meine Tibet-Expedition [The Riddle of the Matschu. My Tibet Expedition].</i> Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.</p>	
29	1904-5	J Bouly de Lesdain and wife; French explorer	From Beijing via Ordos to Lanzhou, Gansu Corridor, Tsaidam and through Tibet to India; passed Lanzhou, Xining, Kumbum, Liangzhou, Ganzhou, Anxi	Comte de Lesdain. 1908. <i>Voyage au Thibet par la Mongolie de Pékin aux Indes</i> . 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. Paris: Plon.	Privately funded journey.
30	1905-6	Clarence Dalrymple Bruce, British major	From India via Eastern Turkestan along the Gansu Corridor and Lanzhou to Beijing	Ibid. 1907. <i>In the Footsteps of Marco Polo</i> . London: William Blackwood and Sons.	Traveled on official business.

31	1905-8	Albert Tafel, German geologist and doctor	through Inner Mongolia and Gansu to Kokonor and Tsaïdam region; northern Kham	Ibid. 1914. <i>Meine Tibetreise [My Tibet Journey]</i> . 2 vols. Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft.	Expedition led by Tafel. Sharp observer; very informative report.
32	1906-7	John Weston Brooke, British lieutenant and explorer	via Lanzhou and Xining towards central Tibet	WN Fergusson. 1911. <i>Adventure, Sports and Travel on the Tibetan Steppes</i> . London: Constable and Co.	Met 13 <sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. Second journey from Chengdu towards Yunnan with CH Meares and WN Fergusson who edited Brooke's diaries posthumously. Brooke was killed in Yunnan in 1908.
33	1906-8; Dec. 1907- Jan. 1908	Carl Gustav von Mannerheim, Finnish officer and explorer	Ganzhou, Liangzhou, Lanzhou, and Labrang	Ibid. Reprint. 1969. <i>Across Asia from West to East in 1906-1908</i> . 2 vols. Oosterhout: Anthropological Publications.  Petteri Koskikallio/ Asko Lehmuskallio.	Central Asia expedition funded by Russian government. See also the bilingual publication by Peter Sandberg (ed.). 1990. <i>C.G. Mannerheim Valokuvia Aasian-Matkalta 1906- 1908. Photographs by CG</i>

				1999. <i>C.G. Mannerheim in Central Asia 1906-1908</i> . Helsinki: National Board of Antiquities.	<i>Mannerheim from his Journey across Asia 1906-1908</i> . Keuruu: Otava.
34	1906-1909; 1908	Henri Marie Gustave d'Ollone, French officer and explorer	through Yunnan, Sichuan/ Kham and Amdo; from Chengdu via Songpan and Yellow River bend to Labrang, Hezhou and Lanzhou	Ibid. 1911. <i>Les derniers barbares. Chine, Tibet, Mongolie. Mission d'Ollone, 1906-1909</i> . Paris: Lafitte.  Ibid. 1912. <i>In Forbidden China: the d'Ollone Mission 1906-1909, China-Mongolia-Tibet</i> . London: T. Fisher Unwin.  Ibid. 1911. <i>Recherches sur les musulmans</i>	Travelled with three other French officers; expedition supported by the Society of Geography and other French institutions.



				<i>chinois</i> . Paris: Ernest Leroux.	
35	1907-10; July 1908- March 1909	Pyotr Kuz'mich Kozlov (Пётр Кузьмич Козлов), Russian officer and explorer	Xining, Kumbum, Dan'gaer, Lake Kokonor, Guide, Labrang area, Lanzhou	PK Kozloff. 1909-10. The Mongolia-Szechuan Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 34(4): 384-408 and 36(3):288-310.  Pjotr Kuzmitsch Kozlow. 1925. <i>Zur toten Stadt Charachoto</i> . Berlin: Neufeld and Henius.  Pjotr Kusmitsch Koslow. 1955. <i>Die Mongolei, Amdo und die tote Stadt Chara-</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> expedition led by Kozlov; discovered ruins of Khara Khoto before moving on to Amdo; met with the 13 <sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in Kumbum Monastery. See also Martin Slobodnik. 2014. Labrang Monastery in the Eyes of Pyotr Kuzmich Kozlov and other Foreign Visitors in <i>The Russian Exploration of Central Asia in Historical Perspective and its Contemporary Aspects (In commemoration of the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Petr K Kozlov)</i> . Saint Petersburg. (For Kozlov's last expedition in 1923-26 he had planned

				<p>photo. Leipzig: Brockhaus.</p>	<p>to travel through Tibet to Lhasa, but he had to give up this plan and continued explorations in Mongolia instead.)</p>
36	1915-6	Eric Teichman, British consular officer	<p>from Xian to Lanzhou, Taozhou, Labrang, Hezhou, Zhenfan, Ebao, Xining</p>	<p>Ibid. 1921. <i>Travels of a Consular Officer in North-West China</i>. Cambridge: University Press.</p>	<p>In China since 1907; traveled to Kham in 1918-9; see also ibid. 1922. <i>Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet</i>. Cambridge: University Press.</p>
37	1914-5	Reginald Farrer, British explorer and amateur botanist, accompanied by William Purdom, British trained horticulturalist	<p>1<sup>st</sup> from Lanzhou to southern Gansu: Minzhou, Taozhou, Choni, and to Sichuan border; 2<sup>nd</sup> Lanzhou, Xining, Nanshan area</p>	<p>Reginal Farrer. 1926. <i>On the Eaves of the World</i>. 2 vols. London: Edward Arnold and Co.</p> <p>Ibid. 1926. <i>The Rainbow Bridge</i>. London: Edward Arnold and Co.</p>	<p>1<sup>st</sup> plant hunting trip in southern Gansu and on the border to Sichuan; 2<sup>nd</sup> trip to the Nanshan area.</p>

38	May 1918-May 1921	Alexandra David-Neel, French explorer and esoteric	First in Amdo (mainly Kumbum), later in Kham	Ibid. 1933. <i>Au pays des brigands gentils</i> hommes. Paris: Librairie Plon.  Ibid. 1933. <i>Mönche und Strauchritter. Eine Tibetfahrt auf Schleichwegen</i> . Leipzig: Brockhaus.	See also her letters: Ibid. 1976. <i>Journal de voyage. Lettres à son mari (14 janvier 1918 – 31 décembre 1940) de la Chine à l'Inde en passant par le Tibet</i> . Paris: Plon.
39	1921-2	George Edward Pereira, British brigadier-general and explorer	From Kham via Taozhou and Choni to Lanzhou, Xining, Dan'gaer, and back to Kham	H Gordon Thompson. 1926. <i>From Yunnan-fu to Peking along the Tibetan and Mongolian Borders</i> . London: Edward Stanford.  Francis Younghusband, ed. 1925. <i>Peking to Lhasa</i> . London: Constable.	Pereira passed away in Kham in 1923. See also Gordon Thompson. 1926. From Yunnan-fu to Peking along the Tibetan and Mongolian Borders, Including the Last Journey of Brig.-Gen. George E. Pereira. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 67(1):2-23.

40	1923-8; 1927	Nicholas and George Roerich (Николай and Юрий Перих), Russo-American artist, explorer and esoteric (father Nicholas) and orientalist (son George)	From Mongolia via Gansu Corridor (Anxi) and Tsaidam towards Tibet	<p>Nicholas Roerich. 1929. <i>Altai-Himalaya. A Travel Diary</i>. New York: Frederick A. Stokes.</p> <p>George N Roerich. 1931. <i>Trails to Inmost Asia</i>. New Haven: Yale University Press.</p>	Plentiful secondary literature on the Roerichs and their expedition.
41	1925-7	Joseph Francis Rock, Austrian-American botanist	Based in Choni; excursions to Labrang, Raja, Golok; tried to reach Amnye Machen in 1926	<p>Ibid. 1956. <i>The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions</i>. Rom: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.</p>	<p>See also his various articles published in <i>The National Geographic Magazine</i> and his unpublished manuscripts held at the Archive of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University.</p> <p>See also his diaries and letters (in English) in Hartmut Walravens, (ed.) 2003. <i>Joseph Franz Rock Expedition zum Amnye</i></p>

					<i>Machhen in Südwest-China im Jahre 1926.</i> Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
42	1926-8	Wilhelm Filchner, German geologist	From Eastern Turkestan to Xining, Kumbum, Lanzhou, Dan 'gaer, Kokonor, Tsaidam	Ibid. 1942. <i>Om mani padme hum. Meine China- und Tibetexpedition 1925/28.</i> 21 <sup>st</sup> ed. Leipzig: Brockhaus.	2 <sup>nd</sup> expedition
43	1927-35	Sven Hedin, Swedish explorer	Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan and Gansu	1937-. <i>Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin. The Sino-Swedish Expedition.</i> Ca. 50 vols. Various publishers.	4 <sup>th</sup> expedition; international Chinese-Swedish scientific expedition under the leadership of Hedin.

				Ibid. 1936. <i>Big Horse's Flight. The Trail of War in Central Asia</i> . London: EP Dutton.	
44	1931-2	<i>Croisière jaune</i> , led by Georges-Marie Haardt and Louis Audouin-Dubreuil	Through Eastern Turkestan, Gansu and Mongolia to Beijing; passing Urumqi, Turfan, Hami, Suzhou and Liangzhou	<p>Louis Audouin-Dubreuil. 1935. <i>Sur la Route de la Soie</i>. Paris: Plon.</p> <p>Georges Le Fèvre. 1933. <i>La Croisière jaune</i>. Paris: Plon.</p> <p>Ariane Audouin-Dubreuil. 2002. <i>La Croisière jaune</i>. Grenoble: Ed. Glénat.</p> <p>Maynard Owen Williams. 1932. From the Mediterranean to the Yellow Sea by</p>	French scientific expedition financed by André Citroën; among the twenty-four members were Joseph Hackin, Teilhard de Chardin, Maynard Owen Williams and painter Alexander Yakovlev.

				Motor. <i>National Geographic Magazine</i> 62(Nov.):513-580.	
45	1932-3	Harrison Forman, American adventurer/journalist and photographer	Labrang area	<p>Ibid. 1935. <i>Through Forbidden Tibet</i>. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.</p> <p>Ibid. 1936. <i>Through Forbidden Tibet. An Adventure into the Unknown</i>. London: Jarrolds.</p>	Apparently befriended family of the 5 <sup>th</sup> Jamyang Zhepa.
46	1935; early 1935	Peter Fleming and Ella Maillart, British and Swiss journalists/ travel writers	From Beiling via Xian to Lanzhou, Xining, Kumbum, Dan'gaer, and Tsaidam to Kashgar	<p>Peter Fleming. 1936. <i>News from Tartary</i>. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.</p> <p>Ibid. 1936. A Journey through Central Asia. <i>The Geographical Journal</i> 88(2):128–</p>	Private journey of two adventurous journalists.

				144. Ella Maillart. 1937. <i>Oasis interdites. De Pékin au Cachemire</i> . Reprint. 2002. Paris: Payot and Rivages.	
47	1934-5	Brooke Dolan, American zoologist	Mainly Kham, but Dolan traveled from Jekundo to Xining for permits	Ibid. 1938. Zoological Results of the Second Dolan Expedition to Western China and Eastern Tibet, 1934-1936. Part I: Introduction. <i>Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia</i> , 90:159-184.	2 <sup>nd</sup> Dolan expedition sponsored by the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia; accompanied by Ernst Schäfer, German zoologist, and missionary Marion Duncan; 1 <sup>st</sup> expedition to Kham in 1931.
48	1935-6	Wilhelm Filchner, German geologist	From Lanzhou via Xining, Dan'gær, Dulan and Tsaidam	Ibid. 1938. <i>Bismillah! Vom Huang-ho zum Indus</i> . Leipzig:	3 <sup>rd</sup> expedition



			through Eastern Turkestan to India	Brockhaus. 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.	
49	July 1936	Edmund Fürholzer, German journalist	From Shanghai to Lanzhou, Hezhou, Labrang	Ibid. 1951. <i>Arro! Arro! So sah ich Tibet.</i> Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert.	Editor at Transocean Press Agency in Shanghai since 1933. Privately funded journey as a 'tourist'. Met 9 <sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama in Labrang.
50	Summer and autumn 1936	Hans Stubel, German-American ethnologist	Southern Gansu, Labrang area	Hans Stubel. 1958. <i>The Mewu Fantzu. A Tibetan Tribe of Kansu.</i> New Haven: HRAF Press.	
51	1937-8	Marvin J Weller, American geologist	From Shanghai to Gansu and along the Gansu Corridor	Ibid and Harriet Weller. 1984. <i>Caravan across China. An American Geologist Explores the Northwest, 1937-1938.</i> San Francisco: March Hare Pub.	Prospecting for oil.

52	spring 1938	Violet Cressy-Marcks, British adventurer and journalist, self-trained archaeologist and ethnographer	From Beijing via Xian to Xining, Kumbum and Lake Kokonor	Ibid. 1940. <i>Journey into China</i> . London: Hodder and Stoughton.	Privately funded journey. Interviewed Mao Zedong in Yan'an.
53	1940	André Guibaut and Louis Victor Liotard	From Kham via Golok area to Xining	André Guibaut. 1947. <i>Ngolo-Setas. Deuxième Expédition Guibaut-Liotard au Tibet (1940)</i> . Paris: J. Susse.  Ibid. 1947. <i>Tibetan Venture</i> . London: John Murray.	Liotard was killed during the expedition by Tibetans.
54	1942-3	Ilia Tolstoy and Brooke Dolan, American OSS officers	From India via Lhasa to Lanzhou	Ilia Tolstoy. 1946. Across Tibet from India to China. <i>National Geographic Magazine</i> XC(2):169– 222.	Traveled on official business; Dolan had already traveled to Tibet twice. See also the Russian version: I. A. Tolstoj. 2008. <i>Iz Indii v Kitaj cherez Tibet [Across Tibet from India to China]</i> .

				Rosemary Jones Tung. 1980. <i>A Portrait of Lost Tibet</i> . New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.	Tula: Izdatel'skiy Dom "Yasnaya Polyana."
55	1946-8; 1947	André Migot, French explorer, medical doctor and orientalist	From Chengdu through northern Kham to Kokonor; Dan'gaer, Xining, Kumbum, Lanzhou	Ibid. 1956. <i>Tibetan Marches</i> , London: Readers Union Rupert Hart-Davis.	Traveled on behalf of the École Française d'Extrême- Orient at Hanoi.
56	Early 1949	Leonard Clark, American adventurer	From Xining to Amnye Machen Mountain Range	Ibid. 1955. <i>The Marching Wind</i> . London: Hutchinson.	Expedition supported by regional warlord Ma Bufang.

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